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The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

SLAVEHOLDING BY MEMBERS OF NATIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

The Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society has forwarded the following letter and minute to the various Missionary Societies and others interested in the Slavery question.

SIR,—I am directed by the Committee of this Society to ask your earnest consideration of the annexed Minute, embodying the views, which have always been held by this Society, respecting the admission of Slaveholders into full communion in a Christian Church.

At the Anti-Slavery Conventions of 1840 and 1843, held under the auspices of this Society, resolutions containing the principles now expressed were unanimously passed, and these principles form a platform upon which this Society has always taken its stand. These Conventions were attended by members of the leading denominations of Christians throughout the world, and that, too, at a time when all the Churches in the Southern States of America consisted of Slaveholders.

Your attention is specially directed to the following extract from the proceedings of the Convention of 1843, and I would state that this present expression of the views of the Committee is in answer to a strong wish for information made by representatives of religious bodies deeply interested in this question.

(Extract.)

Resolved :—“(1.) That this Convention hereby declares to the world its deliberate and solemn conviction that Slavery, in whatever form or country it exists, is intrinsically opposed to all natural justice and genuine Christianity; that in proportion as these exert their legitimate vigour and influence in society, it must be destroyed.

“(2.) That . . . this Convention repeats the testimony of the Convention of 1840—that while it disclaims the intention or desire of

dictating to Christian communities the terms of their fellowship, it respectfully submits that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the Gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in Slavery—a sin by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the Slave-trade."

The Committee would submit that the carrying out of the principle set forth in these Resolutions need not prevent natives from attending Christian schools and places of Public Worship; though the reception into full Church membership of Slaveholders would certainly tend to keep alive the abominable system of Slavery.

I am, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary*.

MINUTE OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The attention of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY having been drawn to the fact that members of native Christian Churches in Africa, and elsewhere, are in the habit of holding Slaves, a practice which does not appear to debar them from the full rights of Church membership, and the views of this Committee having been asked upon this question, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed at a meeting of that body, held on October 7th, 1887.

RESOLVED:—

(1.) That this Committee desires to renew the expression of the strong opinion which it has published at various times, and which is also in agreement with the unanimous vote of the Anti-Slavery Conventions held in London in 1840 and 1843, viz.: That the practice of admitting Slaveholders into full communion with the Christian Church is contrary to the spirit of Christianity.

(2.) That a copy of this Minute be sent to the various Missionary Societies, and others interested in the question, with a request that they will assist the Committee in carrying out the principle therein laid down, and that copies also be sent to the various religious newspapers.

By Order,

CHAS. H. ALLEN,
Secretary.

"SLAVE TRADE PAPERS," 1887.

Increase of Slave-Trade on the East Coast of Africa.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has frequently published statements respecting the reported increase of the Slave-trade in East African waters, and shortly before the close of the last Session of Parliament it caused a question to be asked, which obtained the official reply that no information had been received showing any increase in the Slave-trade. Since that date a Blue Book (No. 1. 1887, c. 5111) containing correspondence relative to the Slave-trade has been issued to the public. The despatches published show the capture of many hundreds of Slaves, and also state that had the blockading force been a little stronger very many more dhows would have been captured, though we believe that no amount of cruisers will be able to prevent the smuggling of Slaves, so long as there is such a brisk demand in the markets of the East.

We append a few extracts, which, though of somewhat ancient date, are sufficiently instructive.

It would be much more satisfactory if despatches relating to the Slave-trade were given to the public at more frequent intervals.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MILES TO COLONEL ROSS.

MUSCAT, *November 24th, 1885.*

With reference to my letters dated the 27th September and 12th October, 1885, respectively, reporting the capture of Slaves by Her Majesty's cruisers off this coast, I have the honour to report that the operations of the Senior Naval Officer, Captain DOWDING, R.N., Her Majesty's ship *Osprey*, for the suppression of the Slave-trade, terminated for the season on the 24th October, 1885, by the arrival of the *Osprey* at Muscat, Her Majesty's ship *Philomel* anchoring in the port the following day.

* * * * *

I have been informed by the local Government here that a dhow with some fifty or sixty Slaves on board bound for the Batineh coast touched at Sidh, near Merbat, some time in October last, for the purpose of procuring water, but that hearing there of the cruisers being about she changed her course. Certain Omani Arabs who are known to have been passengers in her have not reached their homes yet, and it is feared she may have been lost at sea. This is, I may remark, not a very uncommon occurrence with Slave dhows, which are usually old and rotten crafts, owned by native merchants. This may possibly have been the same dhow as that referred to by Sir JOHN KIRK.

Besides rescuing and restoring to freedom a number of wretched creatures, the operations have been of value in determining two points. One of these is that the East African Slave-trade has revived, and is now again in full swing, confirming the opinion I had formed from information gleaned from Arabic correspondence found in the captured dhows, from observing the fall in the price of Slaves, and from local reports.

The other point on which I am now satisfied is, that the bulk of the Slaves are exported from Zanzibar during the spring of the year, when the dhows run up during the first monsoon breezes. I have information from local Government, traders, and others that several cargoes of Slaves were successfully run in April and May last.

It is to be regretted that the Arab coast could not be watched at that time, but the political aspect demanded the withdrawal of all Her Majesty's ships to Bombay, and no vessel was left to cruise in the Gulf of Oman from April to June. It is desirable, in my opinion, that the coast should be watched next spring as closely as circumstances may permit.

LIEUTENANT BALLARD TO COMMANDER BURT.

Woodlark, AT MUSCAT, June 18th, 1886.

SIR,—I have the honour to report the capture of a dhow by two boats of this ship on the 16th June, off Cape Ras-el-Hadd, having fifteen male and six female Slaves on board, with a crew of five Arabs and two Seedies.

I boarded the dhow, who did not lower her sails until after repeated orders and threats to fire on my part, at 11.30 a.m. in the steam cutter, and discovered the Slaves in the hold.

The Arabs had to be forcibly disarmed, as they refused to give up their weapons when told to do so.

I then placed them in the steam cutter as prisoners, and started for Sûr, where the *Woodlark* was lying, leaving the dhow in charge of a petty officer and two men, with orders to follow the coast to the westward till picked up by the ship, and the sailing cutter in charge of the coxswain, with orders to continue cruising off Ras-el-Hadd till my return.

On my way to the ship in the steam cutter, one of the Arabs, whom I believe to be the master of the dhow, jumped overboard and swam towards the shore. Being a very expert swimmer, he evaded pursuit for a considerable time by means of frequent long dives, and as he was approaching the surf and appeared to be likely to succeed in making good his escape, I caused several shots to be fired over his head. These, however, did not deter him in any way whatever, so I was compelled to fire at him, with the result that he received a slight wound on the arm, whereupon he surrendered and was picked up.

On arriving on board Her Majesty's ship *Woodlark* I reported myself to you and handed over the prisoners.—I have, &c.

(Signed) G. A. BALLARD.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR F. RICHARDS TO MR. MACGREGOR.

Bacchante, AT MAURITIUS, August 30th, 1886.

In compliance with the directions contained in the instructions for the suppression of the Slave-trade, I have the honour to forward herewith, for the consideration of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a return of vessels captured on the East Indies Station between the 4th June, 1885 (the date I assumed command in succession to Sir WILLIAM HEWETT) and the 30th June of the present year.

The total of vessels detained during this period is thirty-two, of which number twenty-six were condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, and three at Muscat. Three were released.

The gross tonnage of the vessels captured is 1,200, and the number of Slaves liberated, exclusive of fugitives who claimed the protection of the flag, is 263.

East African Division, Zanzibar.—From the reports of the officers who have been engaged in the duty of the suppression of the Slave-trade during the year, and other sources of information, it does not appear that there is any diminution in the traffic.

The number of captures made is small, owing to the inadequacy of the force which

I have been enabled to station upon the division, and to the fact that the cruisers have been for the most part diverted to other duties owing to the requirements of the British representative upon the International Commission for the delimitation of the frontiers of His Highness the SULTAN.

There is always a constant demand for Slaves on the fine spice island of Pemba, and the export thither from the mainland is more or less continuous throughout the year.

Persian Gulf.—The information furnished by Her Majesty's Political Agent at Muscat corroborates the reports from Zanzibar that the export of Slaves from the African coast to the Gulf of Oman is again actively carried on, the dhows leaving the African coast with the first monsoon breezes in the month of April, and again in the month of September, when the strength of the south-west monsoon has passed.

Madagascar and Comoro.—The force at my command has not been sufficient to enable me to station any vessel in the Mozambique Channel during the year to check the export of Slaves to Madagascar and the Comoros. Captain LLOYD, of Her Majesty's ship *Briton*, reports that at Lindi it was said some 600 Slaves had been shipped to Madagascar in the early months of the present year, and that the Arab dealers returned in time to make their shipments for the Persian Gulf. The Comoros have been so much disturbed of late by French action that the demand for Slaves has apparently ceased. It is hoped that now the remaining islands of the group have been taken under the protection of the Republic the traffic in Slaves will cease.

Gulf of Aden.—Since the occupation of Zeyla there has been little or no Slave-trade in the Gulf of Aden, and it is the general opinion locally that since the death of ABU BEKR PASHA, the late Egyptian Governor of Zeyla, the traffic in Slaves from the African coast has entirely ceased. Slaves are still brought from Abyssinia to within a few miles of the coast near Tajourra, and they are then taken overland to the south of Assab Bay, and there embarked for Jeddah and other Red Sea ports.

In April last a report was received from a Swedish medical missionary that he had travelled to within ten miles of the coast with a caravan of about 700 Slaves, all children except three.

They had come from Abyssinia, having been captured or purchased, and were intended for the Jeddah market. The boys had nearly all been made eunuchs, they being more valuable as such in the Turkish and Egyptian markets.

Mr. Consul HAWES, from Lake Nyassa, writes as follows :—

MANDALA, October 30, 1885.

I take this opportunity of stating to your Lordship that I have grave suspicions that a traffic in Slaves is carried on at the markets held at Lunas. I had previously heard this spoken of at Quilimane, and was told that in the Prazas around Quilimane, and on the Zambesi, domestic Slaves were quite common. When I found, therefore, that the caravan I have alluded to consisted of over 1,200 persons, the great majority of whom were boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, and that the number of tusks brought down for sale was only 300, not more than eighty loads, my suspicions were attracted. The Arabs in charge explained that the boys were required to carry back to the interior the purchases they intended to make after selling their ivory. I need hardly point out to your Lordship that this explanation is entirely insufficient.

In walking through the camp I discovered a man bound with ropes, with a Slave-stick fastened to his neck. He was suffering great agony, and as an act of common humanity I had him released. I learnt through my interpreter that he had been captured on the eastern shores of Lake Nyassa, and, because he had attempted to escape, had been kept in fetters throughout the journey.

On my return to Quilimane I brought this matter to the notice of the Governor, and, in telling him of my suspicions about the Slave-traffic, suggested that as caravans were prohibited from coming into Quilimane to dispose of their ivory, it might be well for him to establish a station at Lunas and to send an official there. His Excellency thanked me, and promised to inquire into the matter.

MANDALA, *July 7, 1886.*

Coast influence is very great in the territory of Mponda, and at several of the villages coast-men may be found waiting until they have collected ivory sufficient to start for the coast.

Their caravans are to a great extent composed of Slaves purchased by the dealers, or of pressed men and boys, who receive no pay, but are simply given food on the journey. In all probability the dealers find in Angoni Land a convenient market for the purchase of the Slaves they may require to transport their goods to the coast.

If reports that have reached me from native sources are to be relied on, it would appear that the Slaves who are not required to carry goods back to the interior are sold to the owners of the different "prazas" in the Portuguese possessions around Quilimane and along the coast.

It is undoubtedly the case that a caravan on its return from the coast never musters the same strength it had on its outward journey, and the question arises, What becomes of the missing people?

I trust, when Her Majesty's Consulate is established at Zomba, which is close to the main caravan routes to Quilimane, to be able to elicit information that may give some positive clue to their disposal.

I was surprised to find that cotton goods were so much in use in Angoni Land. A trade in these commodities evidently exists with native dealers, who, as I have stated, in all probability find a convenient market for the purchase of Slaves. I trust that my endeavours to induce the King to establish trading relations with the African Lakes Company may prove successful, and ultimately be the means of lessening the cruel traffic which is undoubtedly at present carried on.

ANTI-SLAVERY POLICY OF ITALY IN THE RED SEA.

In a letter from Mr. A. B. WYLDE, of Suakin, already quoted in this number, he remarks that "up to the time of the fight between the Abyssinians and Italians plenty of Slaves were shipped from Massowah, but after the fight he had heard little news about the trade."

The reason why he heard but little about the Slave-trade is one that redounds very much to the honour of the Italian Government, and to General GENÉ, Commander-in-Chief at Massowah. In the latest Blue Book upon the Slave-trade, presented to Parliament in August last, eight pages are filled with despatches recording the capture of Slaves both on shore and at sea by the Italian forces. General GENÉ informs his Government that, so far as the limited number of his vessels allow, he has established a blockade of the Red Sea coast from Massowah to Assab. In confirmation of this step of the Commander-in-Chief, the KING OF ITALY has issued a decree, of which we publish a translation.

SLAVE-TRADE IN AFRICA.—The official Gazette of this evening (June 3rd, 1886) publishes the following Royal Decree:—

"Article 1. Whoever shall participate directly or indirectly in the Traffic of Slaves, either negroes or Abyssinians, in the Colony of Assab or on its confines or dependencies, shall be considered as guilty of an assault with violence ("grassazione"), and

shall be punished, according to the circumstances of the case, under the provisions of Articles 596 and 597 of the Penal Code of the 20th November, 1859.

"Article 2. If the Trade is accompanied by emasculation, the crime shall be considered equal to assassination, and punished according to Articles 530 and 531 of the above-mentioned Code.

"Article 3. The Military Tribunal of Massowah shall be competent to deal with crimes of this nature.

"The examination shall, however, be made by the Civil Commission at Assab."

One important article in the Decree classes the crime of eunuch making with that of murder, and would be punished accordingly. As this vile business is largely carried on by the Slave-dealers frequenting the Red Sea, it would be well if England would follow the example of Italy and treat the crime as one of murder, as was done by General GORDON.

We regret that space prevents our quoting from the interesting despatches forwarded by the Italian Government to our Foreign Office. They may be found *in extenso* in Blue Book C. 5111, and show that a very large number of Slaves, sometimes as many as fifty in one dhow, have been captured.

Besides these, a considerable number, mostly Abyssinian girls, were captured on shore, some of whom were handed over to the care of the sisters of the French and Swedish Missions.

ANTI-SLAVERY WORK OF THE SWEDISH MISSION IN ABYSSINIA.

WE have received from Madame de N——, a Member of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, extracts from a most interesting letter written by Madame LUNDAHL, widow of the late head of the Swedish Mission in Abyssinia, which fully confirm the account given on another page of the excellent anti-Slavery work done by the Italians.

Madame de LUNDAHL thus writes to her good friend Madame de N——, from Gothenburg :—

"... It is impossible to stop here (Sweden) when so many Slave children are crying for help. In East Africa we have not seen any nation that has done so much for the poor Slaves as the Italians. May our Lord bless them! You cannot imagine, dear Madame, in what miserable condition the poor girls come to us after having been helpless in the hands of the Slave dealers. About all this I long to speak with you, for though many hear of it, and think it dreadful, they do not take it to their hearts. I hope you will never repent what you have done for our Mission. This summer our boys have made fifty beds (angareb) for the Italian Hospital, and they are also helping to build some new houses in our little Christian village, for this summer all our houses were accidentally destroyed by fire.

"Oh! how happy my children and I all were (meaning the freed Slaves) when we received all those Slaves, twenty-six girls and eight boys! They were sent to us in two carriages by the Italian officials, and our children said to them: 'Do not be afraid, for you have come to a very good house, and you will never be sold!'"

[Note.—The address of this excellent Swedish lady is, Madame EMILY LUNDAHL, La Mission Suédoise, M'Kullo, Massowah, Red Sea.—EDITOR OF Reporter.]

Trade with the Soudan.

THE latest news from the Soudan is contained in a telegram to *The Times*, dated Suakin, October 12th, as follows:—

"Colonel KITCHENER has proclaimed Mersa-Halaib, Aghig, and the country north and south of the Berber road open for trade. This has given general satisfaction."

We venture to think that it will also give satisfaction to those of our readers who have studied this question, and have followed the efforts which have long and persistently been made by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to procure the opening of the tribal ports of the Red Sea to legitimate commerce, and thus deal a heavy blow to the iniquitous Slave-trade.

Our valued Correspondent, Mr. A. B. WYLDE, of Suakin, who is now on a visit to England, has devoted many years of his life to this great object, and has kept us well informed of the state of affairs in that troubled region.

In a letter from him, published in the *Reporter* for May and June, page 110, he writes:—

"In the South, Slaves are being run from Tokar and Aghig, and plenty from Massowah, up to the time of the fight between the Abyssinians and Italians. After the fight I have heard little news about the trade.

"Legal trade not being allowed to go on freely, the Arabs cannot turn their attention to legitimate trade, and I think it a very short-sighted policy not opening up the coast.

"I want you particularly, if you can get it done, to have the question of tribal ports along the Red Sea littoral opened up, it will be the death blow to Jeddah Slave-trade."

In connection with the information contained in Mr. WYLDE's letter, Mr. BRYCE, M.P., on behalf of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, asked a question in the House of Commons, on the 8th August last. In reply, Sir JAMES FERGUSSON stated that the question of opening the Red Sea ports was under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

We are very glad that the Government have now taken this decided step, which, we have reason to believe, has received the support of all the recent governors of Suakin, so far as they were not hampered by military considerations.

It will be noted that Aghig, one of the ports now declared open, was specially mentioned by Mr. WYLDE in his letter as a place from which cargoes of Slaves are run.

Anti-Slavery Society.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

THE TREASURER respectfully requests that subscriptions for 1887, not already paid, may be forwarded to him, in order that they may appear in the list at the close of the year. Owing to removal by death of several supporters of the Society, and from other causes, subscriptions and donations have fallen off considerably, and funds are much needed, as the Society's work increases rather than otherwise.

55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

Emin Pacha.

DR. R. W. FELKIN, who formerly spent some months in Uganda as Medical Missionary, and who is intimately acquainted with EMIN PACHA, has lately published in *The Times* some interesting extracts of letters received from that heroic officer, appointed by General GORDON to rule over the Equatorial Provinces of Central Africa. We are very glad to notice that EMIN PACHA refuses to entertain the idea of leaving his province, as that would necessarily involve the return of the people to barbarism. This is in strict accord with the Resolutions passed by the Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in June last. A copy of these was immediately forwarded to Wadelai, and will serve, should it arrive, to strengthen EMIN PACHA in his humane and heroic purpose.

WADELAI, April 17th.

To-morrow morning I am sending a courier to Unyoro with letters for Mr. MACKAY, and I take the opportunity of sending you a few lines. On the 9th of this month Mr. MACKAY had the goodness to send me a *Weekly Times* of November, 1886, from which I saw that Mr. ALLEN had published a letter which I wrote to him on January 1 of that year. I saw also the most kind and appreciative leading article which *The Times* published concerning us. You can imagine yourself, better than I can tell you, that the heartfelt sympathy which has been expressed in England for me and my people, and the many friends we appear to have made, have given me extreme pleasure, and have richly repaid me for many of the sorrows and hardships I have undergone. I could never have believed that I, a stranger, and my poor people could have received such generous thoughts, and that any one could be ready to make for us such sacrifices. I am, indeed, proud of the words which *The Times* has felt justified in saying for us, and also of the letter which was written by Dr. SCLATER, that master of our science, natural history. If, however, the people in Great Britain think that as soon as STANLEY or THOMSON comes I shall return with them they greatly err. I have spent twelve years of my life here, and would it be right of me to desert my post as soon as the opportunity for escape presented itself? I shall remain with my people until I see perfectly clearly that both their future and the future of our country is safe.

The work that GORDON paid for with his blood I will strive to carry on, if not with his energy and genius, still according to his intentions and in his spirit. When my lamented chief placed the government of this country in my hands he wrote me, "I appoint you for civilisation and progress sake." I have done my best to justify the trust he had in me, and that I have to some extent been successful, and have won the confidence of the natives, is proved by the fact that I and my handful of people have held our own up to the present day in the midst of hundreds and thousands of natives. I remain here, the last and only representative of GORDON's staff. It, therefore, falls to me, and is my bounden duty, to follow on upon the road he showed us. Sooner or later a bright future must arise for these countries—sooner or later these people will be drawn into the circle of the ever-advancing civilised world. For twelve long years I have striven and toiled and sown the seeds for future harvest—laid the foundation stone for future buildings. Shall I now give up the work because a way may soon open to the coast? Never.

If England really wishes to help us she must try in the first place to conclude some treaty with Uganda and Unyoro, by which the condition of those countries may

be improved both morally and politically. A safe road to the coast must be opened up, and one which shall not be at the mercy of the moods of childish kings or disreputable Arabs. This is all we want, and it is the only thing necessary to permit of the steady development of these countries. If we possessed it we could look the future hopefully in the face. May the near future bring the realisation of these certainly modest wishes, and may we be permitted, after all the trials which GOD has seen fit to bring us through, to see a time of peace and prosperity in Central Africa. You can imagine with what anxiety I look for the *dénouement* of things, and how I count the days which must still pass before I receive definite news. I thank GOD that I am still able to work, and to keep my people well in hand. As long as I have plenty to occupy me I seem to forget all trials, of which we have unfortunately only too many.

I had only just returned here from Redjaf when, owing to the stupidity of the negroes living near this station in burning the grass during a gale of wind, the flames spread and Wadelai was burnt to the ground. With the help of the neighbouring negro chiefs I have been able to rebuild the station, which is now much handsomer than before. It was only by tremendous exertions that we were able to save our arms and ammunition, but all else became a booty to the flames. It is true that we had not much to lose, but what little we had was very precious, and its loss all the more grievous. ° °

Things go on with us in the same way as before. We sow, we reap, we spin, and live day after day as usual. But February was an unlucky month to us, for in nearly every station fires broke out. This was due to the exceptionally strong winds in that month, and to the carelessness of the natives in burning the grass. We have docked our steamers and renewed them as much as possible, and besides this we have built several boats. So you see we have plenty to do. I have been obliged to evacuate Lado, as it was impossible for me to supply the garrison there with corn; but as a set-off to the loss of this station I have been able to re-occupy the district of Makraka. At present, therefore, we occupy the whole of my former stations in Makraka, Redjaf, Bedden, Kiri, Muggi, Labori, Chor Aju, Dufile, Fatiko, Fadibek, Wadelai, Ssongo, and Mahagi, nearly all the stations which were originally entrusted to me by General GORDON, and I intend and expect to keep them all. I should like here again to mention that if a relief expedition comes to us I will on no account leave my people. We have passed through troublous times together, and I should consider it a shameful act on my part were I to desert my post. My people are, notwithstanding all their hardships, brave and good—with the exception of the Egyptians. We have known each other many years, and I do not think it would be easy at present for a stranger to take up my work and to win at once the confidence of the people. It is, therefore, out of the question for me to leave, so I shall remain. All we would ask England to do is to bring about a better understanding with Uganda, and to provide us with a free and safe way to the coast. This is all we want. Evacuate our territory? Certainly not.

COOLIE IMMIGRATION TO RÉUNION.

It will be remembered that about five or six years ago the INDIA OFFICE, of which at that time the MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON was the head, peremptorily stopped the emigration of coolies from India to Réunion for the purpose of sugar cultivation. This step was taken owing to the representations made of ill treatment of coolies and the refusal of the French Government to allow a duly accredited English agent to visit the plantations in the interests of British subjects.

The ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and the ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY took an active part in laying before the INDIA OFFICE the information which led to the prohibition of the traffic. From statements that have lately been published in the public press, it appears that the French planters are very anxious to obtain a renewal of the supply of Indian coolie labour, as they find it difficult to obtain a sufficiency of cheap labour to enable them to raise sugar that will compete with the present low prices ruling in that market.

There is some talk of guaranteeing the good treatment of the coolies, but so far as we understand the question, the same difficulty of supervision by an independent English officer appears to exist. We very much doubt if any supervision will be found sufficient to prevent the evils which formerly existed. We have a lively recollection of the great anger with which General GORDON, during a visit to the Seychelles Islands, witnessed the landing of a cargo of returned coolies who were being forwarded home from Réunion in an old worn out tub that could hardly be prevented from sinking before she arrived with her living freight at the Seychelles Islands. In addition to this, many of the coolies were suffering from small-pox, and ought not to have been shipped at all until they had recovered.

The ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will, no doubt, use all the influence it possesses with the Government to prevent any renewal of coolie emigration to French colonies.

On this subject some very pertinent remarks appear in *The Times* of 20th October, from the pen of Mr. EDWARD ABRAM, of the Temple.

"Since writing to you last week on this subject I have received a letter from a Réunion coolie, in which he says that the Indians are still very badly used in Réunion, and treated as Slaves, and not in the same way as coolies are treated in India and Mauritius. After saying many other things, which it is not expedient at present to publish, he concludes:—'I do not see why coolies should leave India, a civilised country, and go to Réunion to serve as Slaves. Will you speak up for them, Sir?' Will you allow me to add a few facts?"

"In France, as in England, no burial can take place without a medical certificate of death, but in Réunion no such certificate is required; a permit from the Syndic only is required, and is generally given as a matter of course without inquiry, so if a coolie comes to his end unfairly there is not much chance of finding it out. When sent back to Madras or Pondicherry the coolies are mostly destitute, without money and clothing, instead of bringing home the promised pile. What good has the three years' hard labour in Réunion been to these poor wretches? Although entitled by treaty to receive yearly two suits of clothes (such as they are) from their taskmasters, few receive any.

"If near the termination of their first term the coolies refuse to re-engage, they are often accused before the Juge de Paix of refusing to work, and are sentenced to three months' or so macadam, or hard labour, which time they have to make up to their masters on leaving prison. This is one of the ways of forcing a coolie to enter into another bond, binding him to a further term of bondage—which, in some cases, is thus made lifelong if the labourer retains his powers of work; if weak or broken down he is returned as a service-expired immigrant. * * *

"The longer I study the subject the stronger is my conviction that the coolie immigration to Réunion should not be renewed at all, but according to my information the Foreign Office is differently advised, and that is my reason for invoking your powerful advocacy on behalf of the poor coolie, who cannot plead for himself, and apparently has very few friends to plead for him."

Slavery in Madagascar.

IMPORTANT PROCLAMATION BY THE QUEEN.

A ROYAL proclamation by the QUEEN OF MADAGASCAR has produced much consternation amongst those foreigners and natives who have been living irregular lives. The Proclamation declares that any Malagasy woman living in concubinage with a foreigner shall forfeit to the crown all property held by rights peculiar to the natives of the country, and this law appears likely to strike a heavy blow at those foreigners who have evaded the law and virtually become Slaveholders, the Slaves being bought by them in the name of the woman with whom they are living. On this question the editor of *The Malagasy Times* thus writes :—

The law paraphrased into common parlance is virtually this :—*If a Malagasy woman lives in concubinage with a foreigner, she loses all rights which, as a Malagasy, she enjoys over and above foreigners ; and any property which she may hold under those conditions, from whatever source procured, is liable to confiscation ; and she, and any children she may bear, will remain Malagasy.*

There are plainly three serious questions involved in the principle of this law which the Government are battling with. The first is the question of the nationality of the future generations of half-breeds, of which there are already great numbers ; the second is the fundamental principle of land-tenure ; and the third is the Slave question.

Domestic Slavery is one of those burning questions in England which we are not going to discuss here.

There are all shades of it, even in Madagascar. We have been in parts where the master is a naked uncouth savage, and necessarily his Slave was his equal. In Imerina the master is a more or less civilised gentleman, and probably his Slave does not have such an easy time of it. This is not the matter now before us. One of the objects of the new law is to prevent foreigners from holding Slaves by living with native women. The plan generally adopted is to take up with a Malagasy woman, and give her money to buy Slaves. For £8 they can buy a young lad, who has to work for that foreigner in bondage all his life, and the foreigner cannot be reached because he replies "my wife's Slaves." There is no necessity to multiply examples, as it is well known that foreigners all over the country are working plantations, building houses, and carrying on their business with Slave labour. The British Government feel very strong on this subject. Consul HAGGARD is one of those marine officers whose career has been chiefly thrown in the Mozambique station, running down the Slave-trade, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he has had something to do with the framing of this law ; for the fact of foreigners using their mistresses' Slaves, is, we imagine, not a very heart-burning question to the Hova Government. But on this point the British Government have peremptorily declared that British subjects shall not be allowed to break British laws by subterfuges, especially on the very grave crime of Slave-trading. This new law will cause some consternation on the coast, and no one will be pleased, unless it is the young ladies of Mauritius, who may now hope that their countrymen, seeing they will gain no advantage by deserting them for black wives, will return to their old loves.

The Progress of Abolition in Brazil.

ELECTION OF SENHOR JOAQUIM NABUCO.

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—Some three months ago one of the members for Pernambuco received an appointment as Minister of the Crown, and his seat thus became vacant, the Brazilian law requiring a re-election, as in this country. Our friend, Senhor JOAQUIM NABUCO, the leader of the abolition movement in Brazil, who was in England at the time, immediately took his passage to Pernambuco in order to contest the election, and endeavour to win from his opponent the seat which he has more than once held in the Brazilian Parliament. This apparently forlorn hope has, I am pleased to state, resulted in the triumph of the abolition cause, and as Senhor NABUCO's election is of interest to all those who have the true welfare of the Empire at heart, I ask the favour of your insertion of the following letter, which I have this morning received from him.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

CHARLES H. ALLEN, Secretary.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
55, New Broad Street, October 3rd.

“PERNAMBUCO, September 16th, 1887.

“DEAR MR. ALLEN,—I was elected yesterday here by a vote of 1,407 against 1,270 given to the Minister of the Empire—namely, by a majority of 137. It is a tremendous victory for our cause, such a defeat of the Government in the person of one of its leading members. From the last election we had a gain of 659 votes. Right of public meeting was suspended, a meeting was dispersed by the cavalry, one man being killed and several wounded, the greatest pressure was put on the public functionaries, bribery with public moneys was largely employed, and still the result was the crushing defeat of the Minister—such a victory being a new departure in our life—a grand new event in our history. I congratulate the friends of abolition on our triumph. It is impossible to give you an idea of the enthusiasm that this act of independence and abnegation of the Pernambuco electorate is causing throughout the country.

“Yours very truly,

“J. NABUCO.”

The following Minute was passed at a Meeting of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held October 7th, 1887 :—

“The Committee have learned with deep satisfaction that the prompt and vigorous action taken by Senhor JOAQUIM NABUCO in proceeding to Brazil at a few days' notice to contest the seat formerly held by him in Pernambuco now rendered vacant by the acceptance of a Ministerial appointment by the late holder, has been crowned with success. The Committee recognise the fact that the election of Senhor NABUCO on an Abolition platform, by a large majority over the Government candidate, is an important step in the progress of emancipation in Brazil, and is calculated to hasten the day when the abominable system of Slavery shall be extirpated by the people of that Empire.

THE *Rio News* ON THE PERNAMBUCO ELECTION.

The victory of Senhor JOAQUIM NABUCO in the recent Pernambuco election ought to mark a radical departure in Brazilian politics—the substitution of ministerial

interference and dictation by popular canvass and independence. This is not the first time that a candidate has appealed directly to the electors through popular meetings, for the same gentleman and JOSÉ MARIANNO carried on a similar canvass two years ago. This time the success of a direct appeal to the electors has been most marked, for the election has been won against all the influence of the Government and its agents. Changes were made in official circles to bring more pressure to bear on electors, and the Ministry even went so far as to break up and prohibit popular meetings. In spite of all this, the Ministerial candidate was signally defeated and has been compelled to resign his portfolio, and his former opponent, who lost his seat only through a subsequent contest in the Chamber and partizan action, is now returning to claim the same seat. It is evident that the people are slowly learning to think for themselves. They may not always think correctly, but there is clearly less danger in their errors than in the interested manipulations of politicians who would control public affairs for selfish purposes. We are not only glad that NABUCO has won his election, but doubly glad that it has been won by a popular canvass. And we trust that the other vacancies in the Chamber will be contested in the very same way. A popular canvass, even if there is much of humbug and bombast in it, is a good educating influence.

Condition of Jamaica.

THE *Christian World* publishes some interesting articles from our friend, Mr. SAMUEL JAMES CAPPER, respecting the present condition of Jamaica, owing to the extreme depression in the sugar trade. We extract the following, but would ask whether there is not some exaggeration in the amount given to him as the former value of some of the Estates.

THROWN UP SUGAR ESTATES.

Very sad it seems everywhere here in Jamaica to come upon miles upon miles of what are technically called "thrown up estates," where what was once a vast area under cane has now returned to the primitive jungle, and you find ruins of aqueducts that make you involuntarily think of the Campagna at Rome, and of great sugar houses now half buried in trees and huge creepers, while costly machinery that must have meant an expenditure of thousands upon thousands of pounds to the proprietors, is lying about rusting in all directions, not now worth the trouble of removing. In one place I saw two fine iron rollers for expressing the juice from the canes serving as gate posts! I will spare your readers any reflections as to the present disastrous condition of the sugar industry in Jamaica, and will here simply mention facts that obtrude themselves upon the most casual visitor. At Hollands there are the same massive buildings, the same disused watercourse or aqueduct, the same abundance of fine machinery rapidly hastening to rust and decay. As a sugar estate it has only just been thrown up, and much of the ground is still under the sweet and succulent cane. There was a time when Jamaica sugar realised about £80 per ton, when this estate was worth £75,000 per annum to the fortunate proprietors. Now they find they cannot grow sugar at all except at a loss, and are trusting to the cultivation of bananas and cocoanuts to secure some sort of return. The two neighbouring estates—Golden Grove and Hordley—are still under sugar. In the palmy days of Jamaica these estates are said to have produced a net income of £100,000 per annum, now the manager says 100,000 pence would be about the amount. When we hear of the vast returns of former years, we cease to wonder at the important rôle played by West Indian millionaires, and especially by Jamaica heiresses, in the fiction of fifty years ago! Yet these old days were days of gilded corruption, when emphatically "wealth accumulated and men decayed." The curse of Slavery lay heavy both upon the white masters and upon the black servants. Among the latter marriage was not recognised and was almost unknown, and if a white overseer married he was at once dismissed, while he was encouraged to increase his master's stock of Slaves as much as possible.

Brazil.

CONSULAR REPORT ON SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

IN a report recently issued by the Foreign Office on the Province of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Mr. Consul RICKETTS thus writes :—

In the municipality of Rio, where the white population is in a far larger proportion than in the province, there are, more or less—

Slaves	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30,000
Free	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	300,000
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	330,000

Some give this population at 357,000, but there are no accurate statistics published on this subject. The real number is probably somewhere between these figures.

In the province the number of the Slave population is calculated to June, 1885, at 250,896, the total number in 1873 having been 303,810.

This decrease arises partly through many having left this for other provinces, partly through freedom granted, and partly from deaths.

The total number of Slaves supposed to have entered since 1871 is reckoned at 92,568 ; those who have gone out at, 60,485 ; those who have died, at 63,938 ; while those who have obtained their liberty did not exceed 21,000.

These figures show that a considerable number must have changed hands during the above period. The deaths, it will be noticed, amount to 16 per cent. of the number formerly existing, added to those who have entered.

To June, 1884, the total number of Slaves in Rio province is reckoned at 258,000. Of these 102,000 were under twenty-one years of age, 146,000 between twenty-one and sixty, and 10,000 above sixty. These latter, by the new law, will be free after three years. Four-fifths of this population are said to be engaged in agricultural pursuits, the greatest portion living on the sugar estates in the district of Campos, and on the coffee estates in the districts of Cantagallo, Parahyba do Sul, Valença, Vassouras, and other places.

In addition to the above there were also no less than 130,571 registered up to the year 1884 as the offspring of Slave parents. Of these latter 40,936 are reported as dead, and 6,800 as having changed their locality ; there are, therefore, remaining some 82,789, of whom 80,214 are still in the hands of Slave-owners, 58,144 being under the age of eight years, and the remainder above eight years. Born free under the law, they are required to be maintained by the master until such time as they have attained their majority. On the other hand, they have to furnish service in return for the maintenance afforded.

There are, therefore, in this province, more or less—

Slaves	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	250,896
Children of same still in hands of owner	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	82,789
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	333,685*

The free population of this province, which, in 1872, was given at 490,000, may now be assumed to be something over 500,000, the increase arising chiefly from immigration.

How these are employed, or what may be their pursuits, we have no means of ascertaining, but there is reason to suppose that about one-third are occupied in agriculture.

* The above are the statistics of such Slaves as have been registered ; but of those not registered, and their number is said to be great, we know nothing.

On the whole, then, the number of population would be more or less, as under—

	Slaves.	Free.
Municipality	30,000	300,000
Province	250,896	502,552
Children of Slaves	80,214	...
	361,110	802,552

GENERAL TOTAL.

Free	802,552
Slaves, &c.	361,110
Total	1,163,662

About 10 persons to the kilometre, a small number in proportion to the superficies of the land.

The places where the greatest nucleus of population is found in this province are :

Souls.

Campos	42,000 and upwards.
S. Fidelis	28,000 „
Nitheroy	35,000 „
Valença	19,000 „

The mortality in the city and its suburbs during the last five years has shown an average of 11,064 deaths, or about 3·3 per cent. of the population.

The births, from all accounts, do not appear to have exceeded this limit.

I will now take a short survey of the status of the Slaves in this province.

The effect of the law of 1871, among other things, has been that in the province of Rio, since 1873, 4,115 Slaves have been freed by the Emancipation Fund, at an average cost of 800 milreis per head, and at the rate of 343 persons per annum; that 1,800 have been freed by private persons under certain compulsory conditions at the rate of 150 per annum, making 5,918; and that 15,134 have been during the same period, or about 1,261 per annum, freed gratuitously.

The total liberated in 12 years is therefore 21,052, or at the rate of 1,754 per annum.

In the Empire of Brazil we find that 24,165 have, during the same term, been liberated at an average cost of 680 milreis per head by the Emancipation Fund; that 45,265 have obtained freedom from private persons under certain conditions mentioned in the law of 1871, the total freed gratuitously having amounted to 108,226. Those under the former category have therefore passed from a state of Slavery to one of freedom at the rate of 5,786 per annum, and the latter at 9,012, the total freed per annum having been 14,798.

The death-rate of these unfortunate people was at the rate of 19,567 per annum, or a number not much inferior to that of those released by the Emancipation Fund.

Considering that the total Slaves in the empire is now computed at 1,133,000, this is a very low figure; it is clear under such a system that Slavery could only be extinguished after the lapse of a considerable period.

A reform in the law, therefore, became absolutely necessary. The Abolitionist party, which has been gaining strength for some time past, took up the cause of the Slaves with increased vigour, and advocated the immediate suppression of this evil; the more Moderate desired its suppression gradually. After many sittings and much discussion inside and outside the Chambers, the opinion of the latter prevailed, and laws were passed in 1885 and 1886 marking out the status of this portion of the population for the future.

The laws in question do not contain many articles, but they are clogged with numerous paragraphs, thereby rendering their execution difficult of accomplishment.

(To be continued.)

The French in the New Hebrides.

(*A Revival of the Polynesian Slave-Trade.*)

AN occasional correspondent, writing to *The Times* from the New Hebrides, under date August 10, gives a lamentable picture of the demoralization caused by the presence of the French in those islands, and the dread that exists of annexation to France. The revival of the Polynesian Slave-trade in its worst features is one of the most revolting aspects in which this threatened annexation now appears, but this is at present only an earnest of the further horrors that may be expected if this breach of faith on the part of France is permitted. We annex a few extracts, but the letter itself (in *The Times* of October 12) should be carefully studied.

It is about 340 miles from Noumea to the Island of Sandwich, or Vaté, the most fertile of the New Hebrides group and the seat of what settlement there is here—that is, taking “settlement” to be an attempt at colonisation and cultivation. The missionaries and the stray copra traders I do not call settlers. A monthly steamer runs from the capital of the French penal colony to Vaté and Mallicollo, the two islands on which military posts are established. This steamer, the *Caledonien*, is the property of the Compagnie des Nouvelles Hebrides, and receives a subsidy of 60,000f. (£2,400) a year, being £200 a trip, or about 5s. a mile. The *Caledonien* is a little craft of 110 tons, and can only accommodate half-a-dozen passengers. She is principally a cargo boat, and has been running to the islands for years, carrying copra and other produce. That this vessel now assumes the dignity of a French mail packet astonishes even people in Noumea. But the subsidy was obtained in Paris by the *deus ex machina* of the New Hebrides Company there, and is very useful in assisting to pay the working expenses and salaries of the officials, which, it is more than hinted, are considerably in excess of the income derived from raising maize and coffee and trading in copra, the latter being the principal source of revenue. In the copra trade this company, which has such high-sounding pretensions, enters into undignified competition with the “beach-combers” of British and other nationalities long settled in the different islands. And it generally gets worsted.

AVERSION TO THE FRENCH.

The natives will never trade with a Frenchman when they can do so with an Englishman, or one speaking the English tongue sufficiently to pass for an Englishman. So an English captain of long experience in the island trade has recently been appointed manager of the “fleet” of the New Hebrides Company, which consists of one steamer, two small schooners, and a cutter, with a brigantine, which is now engaged in enticing labourers from other islands to work on the company’s plantations. The “recruiter” of this labour ship is also an Englishman, and another Englishman occupies the same position on a schooner at present in the Solomon group, which is likewise engaging labourers for the company. When it is known that the manager in question was five years ago the hero of a notorious trial, in which he was charged at Noumea with kidnapping some ninety natives at the Solomon Islands, and when it is known that these English recruiters engage the “boys” ostensibly to work on Queensland plantations, one becomes dubious as to whether the recruiting may not become kidnapping, and the nominally free service Slavery.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

In nothing is the immunity which the New Hebrides Company enjoys in these seas so apparent as in this matter of the labour trade. Any ship recruiting labour for New Caledonia carried a Government agent, who, as in the case of the officers on the Fijian and Queensland vessels, was supposed to see that none but fair means were used in persuading the natives to leave their island homes for a term of service in the French colony. As a matter of fact, these duties were performed in a very perfunctory way. English recruiters were always carried, and it is generally known that their powers of persuasion were used on the natives to engage them for an English colony. With foreknowledge no "boy" would recruit for New Caledonia. But when landed there he was generally fairly treated, and the Government officials took good care that his wages were duly paid, and that he was returned to his native shores at the expiration of his three years of service, unless he wished to make another engagement. In the Bureau of the Director of the Interior at Noumea one found a complete record of every native imported into New Caledonia. With the exception of the deceit used in recruiting there was not much to complain of. But the vessels flying the French flag now engaged in the labour trade on behalf of the New Hebrides Company carry no Government agents, and are under no official supervision. There is no guarantee that the natives will be returned to their homes at the end of the "three yams" for which they all engage to serve. It is known that many of them have not been so returned. There is no guarantee that they will be paid in proportion to their services. There is no guarantee that they will not be grossly ill-used. Brought from the Solomon Islands and landed on Vaté, the natives are really Slaves dependent on the caprice of the plantation manager. There is no law to protect them, no authority to which they can appeal. If they have been violently kidnapped there is no chance of the deed ever becoming known. The only result will be that the next vessel from Queensland will be attacked in revenge, and British lives will be sacrificed. Kidnapping may take place individually or wholesale. The captain of the *Venus* was tried at Noumea for enticing the ninety natives on board to move an iron tank in the hold, which was bolted to the deck. The hatches were simply clapped on them and the vessel sailed away. It was partly through the exertions of Bishop SELWYN that the doings of this piratical craft were exposed. The trial was a *cause célèbre* in New Caledonia. But the highest influence was brought to bear. Mr. JOHN HIGGINSON daily drove the merchant skipper to court in his carriage, and an acquittal was the result. With no law in the New Hebrides, no chance of being brought to account, such a proceeding might very well be repeated and the captain easily earn £10 a head from the company. I am told of one case where nine boys from Mallicollo, taken to a plantation at Port Vila, alleged that they were kidnapped, and ended by stealing an open boat and rowing eighty miles by sea to their home. While Queensland vessels are subject to such rigid restrictions in the labour trade, it is absurd that French ships can carry on what is virtually a Slave traffic on behalf of the New Hebrides Company.

A FEW EXAMPLES.

As an instance of the "Slavery" mentioned in connection with the operations of the New Hebrides Company, I may mention that we landed a returned labour hand from one of the company's plantations at a village near this port. Perhaps the French captain who asked us to do this had his reasons for not visiting the place. The "boy" was useful on board ship and worth more than his passage. He had been in Queensland before, and spoke English fairly. For nearly five years he had been employed by

the New Hebrides Company, having been "recruited" soon after its formation in 1882. When we arrived at the half mile of beach which he called his home, I accompanied the man ashore. The wealth with which he returned, the payment for his years of service, consisted of a rifle, ten rounds of ammunition, and a small deal box containing a few yards of print and some tobacco. The whole was not worth £4. Now, if engaged for work in Queensland, he would have been paid at the end of his three years of service £18 in money, which he could have expended as he chose. "Boys" who have been to Queensland learn the value of money; they do not spend all their coin before returning home, but often keep an amount to purchase tobacco and calico from passing ships. In this present cruise I have seen natives with five to ten English sovereigns in their possession, which they knew how to make the most of. The island of Api was said by one skipper to be "full of money." A New Hebrides labour hand in Queensland has his rights before the law, and is paid as regularly as any white man. In the service of the French New Hebrides Company he is a Slave for a longer or a shorter term, and when he is returned to his native home he is paid off with any paltry present the agent or manager may like to give him.

But on arrival here I learn of even a worse case from the Rev. D. MACDONALD, of Havannah Harbour. The brigantine referred to as "recruiting" labourers for the company's plantations in Port Vila, two weeks back landed "seventy head" there. There were a number who protested they had not been engaged to work at this place. One night twenty-five of them took a large boat, and with only two oars rowed out to sea, endeavouring to escape. But they were driven ashore at Hat Island, just outside Havannah Harbour, a small desolate, uninhabited spot. Pursued by a cutter with armed crew, like dogs they were lashed into it, and taken back to Slavery to work for a term in irons. Should any of these boys ever get back to their native islands, little wonder if they attempt to avenge themselves on any helpless Frenchman. This is how men are dealt with; young women have a value of another sort. These French traders have a regulation price for a girl—£30 will buy one, body and soul. Perhaps the trader buys her from her parents or even husband. Women are but chattels in many islands. But too often I believe they are "recruited" nominally for work in the colonies. In any case, this buying and selling of human flesh is Slavery worse than any in the Southern States, as there is no public opinion to restrain brutality.

MR. H. M. STANLEY.

THE *Daily News*, of October 24th, publishes further news from Mr. STANLEY, but as this appears to have come in a private letter, and no authority is given, and is, moreover, said to be dated last month, we think it is necessary to exercise caution in accepting these "private advices." Moreover, the news appears somewhat contradictory, as it states that Mr. STANLEY had sent back the steamer to Stanley Pool for more stores and more men, and that he would wait her return, as though he *expected some opposition*. At the same time it states that the natives in the districts traversed appeared to be very friendly, and welcomed the party into their country. The health of Mr. STANLEY and the whole expedition appeared to be very good, and the men seemed to be in excellent spirits. If this be so, we can scarcely understand why Mr. STANLEY was going to wait in two *entrenched camps* at his new halting place, 150 miles further up the Aruwimi river.

Morocco.

THE political atmosphere is full of rumours of the death or mortal illness of MULEY HASSAN, Sultan of Morocco, and the prospect of a change in the Government of that country produces general excitement amongst the Powers most interested in the condition of the Moorish Empire.

Some unanimity of opinion appears to prevail that the time will shortly arrive when the Powers must agree as to the policy of opening up Morocco to civilisation and commerce, and of having their representatives located at one of the capitals of the Interior. This latter step has for some years been strongly advocated by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and was specially brought before the notice of Sir JOHN HAY by the deputation from that Society which visited Morocco in the winter of 1885-1886. That the British Minister was not unfavourable to the course proposed by the deputation is evident from the annexed extracts from a despatch which he subsequently forwarded to the Foreign Office.

SIR J. D. HAY TO THE EARL OF ROSEBERY.

(Extract.)

TANGIER, April 23rd, 1886.

The only course that I have to suggest might be pursued to obtain the abolition of Slavery would be that the Great Powers should come to an understanding regarding the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Morocco, on account of the important position it holds, and that in such case the Sultan should be given clearly to understand that they can no longer allow that in a country like Morocco, situated within sight of Europe, the institution of Slavery, which is abhorrent to the feelings of the civilised world, should continue to exist, and that a term of years should be fixed when Slavery is to cease. If the Great Powers decide upon adopting such a dictatorial course, the Sultan should be informed that his independence and the integrity of his dominions are guaranteed by the Great Powers, but that they can no longer allow a rich country like Morocco, contiguous to Europe, to remain in its present stagnant state, closed to the world; that a complete reform must take place in the administration of the Government, so as to put a stop to the arbitrary and unjust proceedings of Moorish officials, and thus to insure security of life and property; that roads, railways, telegraphs, and mining operations should be allowed; and that the Representatives should reside at the Court, so that they may be enabled to aid and guide the Government in carrying out these radical measures. I may add that the amelioration of the condition of the white and free population of Morocco is, in a humanitarian point of view, far more important than that of the Slaves, who are, on the whole, in a better position than the agricultural classes.

The agitation of the question of Slavery and occasional representations made to the Moorish Government in cases like that of Fattah will lead to no beneficial results which will satisfy the aspirations of the public.

In the present uncertainty that prevails as to the state of the Sultan's health, and the action taken by the Powers, we confine ourselves to the reprint of an article on Morocco indited by the correspondents of *The Times*, and given in their issue of the 12th October.

(FROM "THE TIMES.")

PARIS, October 11th.

The news from Morocco continues to be contradictory, as might have been expected by those who know the ways of conducting official business in that State. But that curious country, which remains full of mystery for us, although it is the part of Africa nearest to Europe, always causes a great stir among those who watch foreign affairs when there is the slightest threat of any political movement in it. Neither England, France, Spain, nor Italy can remain indifferent to the smallest change which takes place there, and even Germany, who endeavours everywhere to keep watch or to set her foot, is under the necessity of following closely all that occurs in this corner of north-western Africa.

It is useless to dwell at length on the causes of the close attention which the Mediterranean Powers devote to events in Morocco. England is at Gibraltar, France in Tunis, Italy covets Tripoli, and Spain, who possesses Ceuta on the Mediterranean, and Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña in the south of Morocco, in the Draa country, and who has just annexed this port for the captaincy of the Canary Islands, looks upon Morocco, as I have already said, as one of her provinces *in partibus*. All Spaniards believe that it is Morocco which is to renew the prosperity of Spain, and it would certainly be necessary that any nation whatever conquering Morocco should put to death every Spaniard in order to enjoy its annexation in peace. There are not many international questions which stir more the national feeling of Englishmen than the possibility of seeing a European Power on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar, and France and Italy, who are less imperatively interested than Spain and England, no less zealously defend the policy of the dog in the manger.

THE SULTAN, MULEY HASSAN.

In these circumstances only two courses can be followed, implying a conflict or a cordial understanding. Now, as no Power would think of fighting with regard to Morocco, at least at present, there remains nothing but an understanding, and that necessity is urgent, and must be prepared for. Events may occur at any moment to complicate the situation before there is time to settle matters.

MULEY HASSAN, the present Sultan, is only forty-three years of age. He is a tall man, with a dusky complexion, a black beard, and handsome and intelligent features. He is chiefly interested in his harem, which contains 300 women, not including the women of his predecessors, numbering upwards of 1,500, who are kept at his expense. He imagines that he has a taste for scientific knowledge, especially for geography. He has had maps constructed, but it has been necessary to make Morocco occupy in them three-fourths of the globe. As Sherif, he has a right to make use of the umbrella and green saddle, and this privilege, he imagines, entitles him to treat the representatives of the Christian Powers with supreme contempt. When an Ambassador wishes to see him, he must undergo a sort of quarantine for three days, the object of which is to disinfect him from the European air. After this purification, the Emperor, on horseback and under the shelter of his great green umbrella, receives the poor Ambassador, who approaches, at the risk of sunstroke, with his head uncovered and unprotected from the heat. When he goes to Mequinez he gets into the carriage presented him by QUEEN VICTORIA, but the coachman has to walk on foot because no one must sit on a more elevated place than the Emperor. Besides this carriage there is a cart at Mazagan, but these are the only two conveyances with wheels in the Empire.

It is important to keep in mind that the SULTAN, who there is some reason to

suppose is dead, does not interfere with political affairs, and that those who do, will conceal his death, if it has occurred, as long as they can. He is represented at Tangier, where the Ministers of the European Powers are, by an Andalusian Moor, but the true Sultan is the Vizier, BEN LARBI TEMAI, called EL IKI, the jurisconsult, whose chief colleague is the son of the former Vizier, BEN MOUSA. It is these two who are really in possession of Morocco. They are masters of the country. They control all the movements of MULEY HASSAN, and keep him away from all immediate contact with Europeans. All these things it is important to know in order to ascertain what is to be done. There is no use in referring to the Grand Master of the Artillery, whose cannons are scattered over the country in desert and marshy passes, where they are always turned against the towns, and never against those who might take them by surprise. There is no Minister of Public Works in a country without roads, and no Minister of Marine in a State which has no fleet. The representative of the Post Master-General is the head of the couriers, who take the place of horses, carriages, and railways.

RESOURCES OF MOROCCO.

But the resources of this country must not be judged of by the ignorance and the corruption which hold sway in it. Morocco might become a very considerable source of wealth if all the Powers, agreeing to act in common, without transforming its political existence, opened it to the general commerce of the globe, and to the enterprise of civilisation. This country has an area of 60,000,000 of hectares, and a population of from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 on a surface which could support in comfort from 20,000,000 to 30,000,000. The Kabyles, of whom there are about 3,000,000, are for the most part independent, and have taken possession of the high table lands and mountains to which the power of the SULTAN does not penetrate.

The two millions of Arabs on whom the SULTAN and the Empire chiefly depend occupy the great towns—Fez with 80,000, Morocco with 50,000, and Mequinez with 15,000, the great plains, and the lower valleys of the streams. The Jews, who serve as intermediaries between the Kabyles, the Arabs, and the scattered Christians, and who also conduct the commerce of the ports with Europe, number 300,000. They live everywhere in the towns and villages within a reserved circuit, enjoying great privileges, and at the same time exposed to great humiliation. They can neither mount a horse nor wear a white turban. They form a numerous population, however, and as they are full of resources they will become precious auxiliaries when the Powers collectively resolve to attempt the regeneration of Morocco, and to bring a peaceful action to bear upon the Arab population.

There are scarcely in Morocco along the coast at Tangier, Rabat, Mogador, and Mazagan 4,000 Christians. There is one Christian family at Alcazar, and there are five or six in Morocco. As to obtaining assistance in any attempt at reform, it must be remembered that the Kabyles are unsociable and arrogant, dreaming that they might form a barbarous State in which they could preserve their independence and extend their power. Nor is much help to be expected from the Arabs, who are terrorised by the Government and inflamed with a fanatical antipathy to the Christians. Yet among the Jewish and Arab elements of the population precious auxiliaries would be found, with whose aid Morocco might be converted into an immense and fertile region, offering great resources to Europe.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

At present the imports and exports united scarcely exceed the ridiculous sum of 40,000,000f., when they might amount to £20,000,000. England supplies tea and

cotton goods, France sugar and ironmongery, Germany cloths, Spain competes with English cottons and French sugars. The exports consist of wools, goatskins, beans, maize, almonds, and olive oil. Besides this, Tangier supplies oxen and sheep to the Spanish coast. But the exportation of cereals is forbidden in order not to impoverish the country, that of ores, because ores are part of the soil of Morocco, and argand oil because the tree producing it, being badly cultivated, only supplies enough for the country.

At a single touch of her wand, civilisation might bring forth millions and millions of tons of copper ore, which contains five times as much metal as the ores of Chili, and the argand tree could supply under proper cultivation an excellent oil, giving a bright flame, in sufficient quantity to meet all the wants of the southern countries. In short, Europe is in presence of a country, the possession of which she cannot allow to be disputed. She might increase its wealth a hundred-fold and spread it over the West if she would bring a common action judiciously to bear. A railway from Fez to Tangier, an obligation on the SULTAN to let the diplomatic body remain where they now are, and to allow them to approach him according to the necessities of the hour, some roads constructed, some bridges erected over the rivers—these things would effect what is wanted, and the whole world would benefit by what had been done by a common action which would set aside the risk of strife, by combining and amalgamating the interests of all countries.

In an editorial, commenting upon this article, *The Times* makes the following remarks :—

"Unfortunate as the land has been in its sovereigns, it could not have subsided into its present stagnation if modern Europe had not chosen to paralyse itself by mutual suspicions and envy. European States have been so much alarmed at the contingency of gain to one of them from the application of their influence to the opening up of Morocco that it has been allowed to bury itself and its possessions. Japan and China, in the farthest East, were forbidden to seal themselves against European trade in a way which has been accounted perfectly lawful for a country within sight of European shores. Had Europe ever exerted itself, Morocco could not have disgraced the nineteenth century by the superannuated spectacle of a land devoid of wheeled traffic and roads."

LETTER FROM MR. DONALD MACKENZIE.

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—I have recently seen statements made regarding the Slave-trade in Morocco of a misleading nature. It is of great importance that English people should thoroughly understand the abominable Slave traffic, for the abolition of which our greatest men laboured hard in the past, which good work is still continued by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, whose hands should be strengthened in every way in its noble efforts in the cause of human freedom.

Morocco still continues to be one of the strongholds of Slavery, and none of the European Powers have taken any steps as yet to make a treaty with the Moorish Sultan for the abolition of a trade so repulsive to the best feelings of human nature. A few years ago the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY turned its special attention to Morocco, and made successive representations to the British Government on the question of Slavery, which led, through the efforts of Her Majesty's Minister at the Court of Morocco, to the closing of the Slave markets in port towns. This year the committee of that Society entrusted me with a petition to the SULTAN OF MOROCCO praying for the

abolition of the Slave-trade throughout his dominions, and I was able to procure the presentation of this, the first Anti-Slavery address ever received by a Sultan of Morocco. The British Mission was in the city of Morocco at the same time, but Her Majesty's Minister was unable to support the Society's petition without instructions from the British Government. During my stay in the capital I walked about every day in European dress without escort or arms of any kind, examined the manufactures and industries of the people everywhere, and was received with kindness and respect. I never heard any one "cursing myself or my forefathers," as they are said to do by some other travellers. I visited the Slave market where human beings were sold like cattle for harems, or as servants—a revolting sight for any European to behold. It seems strange to think that such a horrid traffic could be conducted with impunity in a city where the British Minister was present, and in a country within sight of Gibraltar.

There are, at present, Slave markets in all the interior towns of Morocco, where a supply is kept of all kinds of human beings, male and female, and of all ages, to suit Mohammedan buyers. To keep up the supply for this demand brings us face to face with the most terrible story of this abominable traffic. Slaves for the Moorish markets are captured in the Soudan and are then driven across the great Sahara Desert, very many perishing by the way. A friend of mine who lately made a journey through Central Africa told me that if the English public could see the Slave-trade as it is conducted in the interior of Africa, they would raise such a cry as would sweep the abomination of Slavery off the face of the earth.

It would be too indelicate to describe in detail the treatment Slaves receive at the hands of those who drive them through the interior. It is enough to say that the poor creatures, male and female of all ages, are driven, perfectly naked, like herds of cattle, to the various interior markets, and that this loathsome traffic is carried on to supply the Slave markets of countries like Morocco.

105, Leadenhall Street, E.C.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

14th October, 1887.

DONALD MACKENZIE.

The above admirable letter of Mr. MACKENZIE was harshly criticised in *The Times* of 17th October, by a Mr. ARNOLD T. FULLER, who defended the institution of Mohammedan Slavery on the ground that it is "one of the most ancient and rooted practices of an independent nation at peace with ourselves, and is not forbidden by the religion of that nation."

The arguments brought forward by Mr. FULLER appear to be a *réchauffé* of similar views expressed by a correspondent of the *Illustrated London News*, who was allowed to accompany Sir W. KIRBY GREEN on his recent mission to the City of Morocco. It should be borne in mind that anyone travelling under these circumstances would be carefully protected from witnessing any of the revolting scenes which many other travellers have described as occurring in the various Slave markets of Morocco. When the British Embassy is in the capital of the Sultan, everything, of course, wears the *couleur de rose* aspect, and it would, no doubt, be much better for the country if the European legations could be permanently resident there.

Mr. FULLER proceeds to argue that we have no right to interfere with such an old institution, and if by this he means that we are not bound to make war upon Morocco in order to force her to liberate her Slaves, he is right; but as he does not confine himself to armed interference, we maintain

that we have a perfect right to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear upon any nation with whom we come into contact, when that nation makes raids upon defenceless and barbarous tribes in order to supply its Slave markets with human chattels.

The following short protest from the Secretary of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY appeared in *The Times* of the following day:—

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—It seems so strange, at the end of this 19th century, to find an Englishman defending Slavery on account of its being an ancient institution and not forbidden by the Mohammedan religion, and to hear him quote Sir RICHARD BURTON in its favour, that I must ask you to give me a small space to protest against the views so boldly stated by Mr. ARNOLD T. FULLER in *The Times* of this day. Allow me to state that we have abundant proof at this office that Slaves in Morocco are sold without any regard to family ties, and that the cruel mutilation of boys is carried on in that country in a manner that is a disgrace to humanity. The practice of this purely Mohammedan custom—which has not the sanction of the Koran—has been brought before the Foreign Office and this Society, in terms of unmitigated horror, by Sir RICHARD BURTON himself, who, on many occasions, has shown himself a warm opponent of the Slave-trade, without which Slavery (even in the mild form (?) defended by Mr. FULLER) could not exist.

A friend of mine, long resident in Morocco, and conversant with the language, lately visited some of the places where Slave boys are kept in the interior, and he assured me that 90 out of every 100 succumb to the treatment they receive.

Surely it is unnecessary to add more in proof that Slavery and the Slave-trade are doomed before the onward march of civilisation, however much the institution may be palliated and excused by those who are unacquainted with its real horrors.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

55, New Broad Street, London, E.C., Oct. 17, 1887.

Parliamentary.

IMPRISONMENT OF A FREED NEGRO IN MOROCCO.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, August 30th.

Mr. ROWNTREE (Scarborough), for Mr. A. PEASE (York), asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it was true that the freed negro FATAH, who was originally brought to Morocco on board a British vessel, and who therefore claimed British protection, was still in prison as a Slave at Tangier; whether Sir W. KIRBY GREEN, on his recent visit to the SULTAN OF MOROCCO, made any attempt to obtain his release; and if not, could he state for what reason; and whether Her Majesty's Government would instruct the Minister at Tangier to take steps to procure the release of FATAH.

Sir J. FERGUSSON said FATAH, so far as he knew, was still a prisoner. Sir W. KIRBY GREEN did not lose sight of the case in his recent visit to Morocco, and it still engaged his attention. The man was not entitled to British protection, and it was very inexpedient to extend the practice of foreign protection to Moorish subjects. The hon. member was no doubt conscious that Her Majesty's Government could not interfere officially with the domestic institutions of foreign countries which differed from our own.

Review.

MOHAMMED BENANI.*

A STORY OF TO-DAY.

THIS is a story of Morocco, showing, in the form of an interesting novel, the condition of the great Mohammedan Empire, which, though lying within sight of our military station of Gibraltar, and only four days' steaming from England, is as closely shut in from the outside world as Japan was in days that are not long passed away. It is no secret that the story is from the facile pen of Mr. ION PERDICARIS, a wealthy American, who has resided for many years at Tangier, and is intimately acquainted with the abuses which are so vividly portrayed in the work under review. The principal characters are living men and women, whose thin disguise may be easily penetrated by any one at all conversant with recent events in the dominions of "MULAI EL HASSAN, Sultan of Mauritania." The Russian embassy, which plays so prominent a part in the exciting "Story of To-day," is, of course, intended to represent another Legation or Consulate which has been much talked about of late, and IVAN PAULOVITCH, the hero of the tale, is in reality the citizen of another country than Russia. There is no Russian flag in Morocco, though most of the other European powers, and the United States of America are represented there. It is sufficient to say that a great many of the events narrated actually took place, and that IVAN PAULOVITCH was really consigned to a Moorish prison for a short time by one of the representatives of a foreign power. The unfortunate commissioner of the Sultan, who figures largely throughout the tale under the name of MOHAMMED BENANI, was also incarcerated as described, and has only been set at liberty since the present volume was published. It was for giving an asylum to this unfortunate man that IVAN was thrown into prison. The abuses caused by the indiscriminate giving of protection to native usurers are well exposed in this story, and it is satisfactory to learn that these abuses are now very much curtailed. The novel is extremely well written, and contains many most interesting and exciting scenes, affording an excellent picture of Moorish life.

The newly-developed belief in esoteric Buddhism or Theosophy, is brought somewhat prominently upon the scene, the medium being a beautiful and accomplished young girl, whose capture by her enemies and subsequent rescue form one of the most graphic and stirring descriptions in the book. At the present time, when the future of Morocco for weal or woe has to be considered by the Powers, this very instructive history of late events should be read by all who care for the development of a vast and very rich country, now lying under the iron heel of a cruel despotism. The author says in his preface:—

"The serious object of this book is (without attacking individuals) to attract public attention to the evil adjustment of a mechanism which grinds, not grain, but human creatures between the upper and nether stone of Jewish and Moorish

* London: Sampson, Low & Co., 1887.

oppression—awful mills to which the breeze of Consular support imparts continuous motion.”

We venture to think that the very readable and instructive volume now given to the world will do much to further the praiseworthy and benevolent object the author has at heart, by educating public opinion in England and America, and thus aiding in the civilization and development of the great empire of Morocco.

LAURA S. HAVILAND.

THIS well-known venerable abolitionist has published a third edition of her very interesting and adventurous life, entitled *A Woman's Work* (*vide* advertisement). It forms a fitting sequel to the charming volume, reviewed some time ago in these columns, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, and contains many admirable descriptions of the working of the *Underground Railway*, by which many hundreds of fugitive Slaves were safely conveyed into what Mrs. HAVILAND quaintly calls “Victoria’s domain.” Mr. STAFFORD ALLEN has kindly undertaken to dispose of copies of this interesting book, applications for which should be forwarded to the Offices of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

Obituary.

SIR HENRY W. GORDON, K.C.B.

WE deeply regret to learn the death of SIR HENRY WILLIAM GORDON, K.C.B., brother of the famous GENERAL GORDON. This distinguished officer had seen much service in various parts of the world, particularly the East and West Indies, the Crimea, and China. He retired from the army long ago, and has devoted himself for many years to public works for the benefit of his fellow-men. SIR HENRY GORDON took an interest in the work of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and occasionally visited the offices in New Broad Street, in company with his distinguished brother. He was considerably older than GENERAL GORDON, having been born in 1818.

M. SCOVASSO, ITALIAN MINISTER AT TANGIER,

DIED at Lisbon a few days since. The death of this diplomatist at a critical moment in the external affairs of Morocco is deeply to be regretted—his residence of more than twenty years in that country, and the great respect in which he was held, having given him a position which it will be hard to replace.

NEWS FROM UGANDA.

THE Church Missionary Society have received a letter from Bishop PARKER, the successor of the late Bishop HANNINGTON, which is full of interest, although the events are a little confusing. Mr. MACKAY has had to leave the capital of Uganda, and his place has been occupied by the Rev. Mr. GORDON, who appears to be a *persona grata* with the capricious MWANGA, on account of his name being the same as that of the late General GORDON.

MOHAMMED BENANI.

A STORY OF TO-DAY.

IN an interesting tale, of which the *dramatis personæ* are mostly living and well-known characters, the author here relates much of the late history of Morocco, and exposes the cruel evils arising from the abuse of the system of *protected* natives, to which some of the Legations have too widely extended the shelter of their flag.

In one volume, 324 pages. May be had at MUDIE'S library.

LONDON: SAMPSON LOW & CO. 1887.

A WOMAN'S LIFE WORK.

LABOURS AND EXPERIENCES OF LAURA S. HAVILAND.*

A WOMAN'S LIFE WORK is the title of a most interesting and graphically written work of five hundred and sixty pages, descriptive of the historic events which led up directly to the great Rebellion. The author, Mrs. LAURA S. HAVILAND, was for many years an active worker in the Abolition cause, a Quakeress by birth and education, and a constant friend of the oppressed and suffering, as is evidenced by the whole record of her life. After the war broke out, Mrs. HAVILAND dedicated her energies to nursing the sick and wounded soldiers and the destitute blacks, and when the war closed, and the exodus from the south commenced, she was appointed secretary of the Kansas Freedmen's Aid and Relief Society. Her many thrilling experiences are vividly portrayed in the volume which she has written, which is as interesting in parts as "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

The venerable Quaker poet, J. G. WHITTIER, highly recommends this volume, copies of which may be had at the Society's Office, 55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

* Cincinnati: WALDEN & STOWE. Third Edition. 8s. net.

A FEW FACTS RELATING TO THE SLAVE-TRADE IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN AFRICA.

A Leaflet, with Illustration, has been issued by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Correspondents and others interested in this question may receive packets of this Leaflet for GRATUITOUS DISTRIBUTION on application to—

CHARLES H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

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